TL165

CURRENT DATA ON THE INDONESIAN MILITARY ELITE

July 1, 1989–January 1, 1992.

The Editors

A central feature of the brief analysis contained in our last listing of Current Data (*Indonesia* 48 [October 1989]) was evidence of increasing tensions between President Suharto (and his Palace circle) and a senior echelon of active Army officers led by their doyen, General L.B. ("Benny") Murdani. The most striking signs of these tensions were:

1) The President's abrupt dismissal of Murdani from command of the Armed Forces on February 27, 1988, shortly before the March session of the MPR which was to "choose" a President and Vice-President for the following five years. Since, as late as May 1988, Suharto had gone out of his way to give Murdani a one-year extension of his active duty status before retirement, the latter would have expected to stay in dignified office at least till after the new administration was formed.

2) The extraordinary parliamentary outburst by Brig. Gen. Ibrahim Saleh against the President's choice, announced on March 11, of Lt. Gen. Soedharmono, palace confidant and head of the Golkar machine, to be his Vice-President.

In that earlier analysis, it had been argued that these tensions were likely to increase in severity. This forecast was being clearly, if gradually, fufilled up to November 12, 1991, when there occurred a military massacre of dozens of young East Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. Thanks to the fortuitous presence of several foreign journalists, one of whom managed to videotape part of the killing, the massacre became world news. The political fallout from this disaster has abruptly widened the conflict between the Palace and the bulk of the military leadership.

Before turning to the discussion of the current crisis, it is useful to look at the aggregate data assembled below to see what longer-term tendencies they may reveal.

At the broadest level it is clear that Javanese dominance of the top echelons of the military has remained unchanged. Incomplete data on ethnicity suggest that at least 60%, and perhaps as many as 70%, of the leading officers are Javanese, who are thus represented seven times as strongly as the next ranked ethnic group, the Sundanese (8%). It is interesting, however, that there now seems to be a wider general spread among ethnicities than hitherto: Achehnese, Balinese, Bantenese, Banjarese, Buginese, Butonese, Chinese (!), Madurese, Malays, Mandailing Bataks, Menadonese, Palembangese, Sipirok Bataks, Sumbawanese, Toba Bataks, and Torajanese are all, if minimally, represented. Ethnic distribution among the powerful 10 Kodam Commanders is also rather new and interesting. For the commander of Kodam 3 (West Java) is a native Sundanese, of Kodam 5 (East Java and Madura) a native Madurese, of Kodam 6 (Kalimantan) a native Banjarese, and of Kodam 8 (Sulawesi) a native of Sulawesi. It has been many years since so many *putra daerah* have been permitted to hold these posts. Javanese commanders, however, are stationed in all but one of those *rawan* (troublesome) Kodam where there has been serious recent bloodshed: Kodam 1 (the Aceh Merdeka insurrection), Kodam 2 (site of the bloody Lampung affair), and Kodam 8 (Irian Jaya, where the Organisasi Papua Merdeka continues its armed struggle). Because the Christian population of East Timor presents Jakarta with such intractable problems, it has been thought unwise recently to place a Javanese (Muslim) commander in charge of Kodam 9, and the present incumbent is a Christian Menadonese.

Two other "group" dimensions of internal military competition may be briefly mentioned. First, there seems to be no substantial change in a pattern where officers with either RPKAD (paratroop/Special Forces) and/or Intelligence backgrounds are visibly overrepresented. These are the characteristic features of General Murdani's own career and of his closest protégés -- so that their visibility probably attests to his continuing personal authority, despite his removal to the weak Ministry of Defense and Security. It is also true, however, that intelligence and paratroop officers have necessarily played the major roles in the seventeen years of bloody counterinsurgency campaigns in East Timor since the initital invasion of December 1975. Insofar as action in the field typically assists an officer's promotion chances, East Timor may be more important than Murdani in influencing the RPKAD/Intelligence overrepresentation sketched above.

In addition, there is the question of how the various Classes of the Military Academy have been sharing the really key positions over the past two and a half years. The data are by no means complete, so any inferences must be rather tentative. The distribution is as follows:

Class 1 (1960)	5 positions
Class 2 (1961)	7 positions
Class 3 (1962)	8 positions
Class 4 (1963)	4 positions
Class 5 (1964)	1 positions
Class 6 (1965)	3 positions

To put it another way:

Class 1 is strong in key central staff and education-training jobs: Edy Sudradjat (Army Chief of Staff), Harsudiyono Hartas (Chief of the Social and Political Affairs Staff, ABRI HQ), Sugeng Subroto (Assistant for Operations, ABRI HQ), Soekarto (head of the National Defense Institute), and Sudarto (Commandant of the Armed Forces' Academy).

Class 2 is strong in the slightly lower central staff and education-training positions, with one important exception: Rajagukguk (Deputy Army Chief of Staff), Soetopo (Assistant for Personnel, Army HQ), Soenardi (Assistant for Logistics, Army HQ), Soegito (Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Army HQ), Faisal Tanjung (Commander, Staff and Command School), Toni Hartono (Commandant, Military Academy), Kentot Harseno (Commander, Kodam Jaya/Jakarta).

Class 3 dominates the Kodam commands, but holds other key positions: Pramono (Kodam l), Nuriana (Kodam 3), Hartono (Kodam 5), Palaguna (Kodam 7), Mantiri (Kodam 9), Asmono (Assistant for Intelligence, ABRI HQ), Suryadi Sudirja (Assistant for Social Political Affairs, ABRI HQ), Arie Sudewo (Deputy Head of BAIS).

Class 4 has an important role in command of elite units: Wismoyo (Kostrad Commander), Kilian Sidabutar (Kostrad Chief of Staff), Kuntara (Commander of the Special Forces), and Harijoto (Commander, Kodam 4).

Class 5 is almost invisible. Only Haris Sudarno shows up as Kodam Jaya Chief of Staff.

Class 6 is most visible in regional commands at the Kodam and Korem levels: Yacob Dasto (Chief of Staff, Kodam 5), Theo Syafei (Commander of the East Timor Operations Command), and Yunus Yosfiah (Chief of Staff, Kodam 6). In addition there are Karyono (Commander, Korem 031/Riau), Widagdo (Commander, Korem 071/Purwokerto), Imam Utomo (Commander, Korem 084/Surabaya) and Budi Sujana (Commander, Korem 121/Pontianak).

These data have some deceptive features. Classes 4 and 5 are rather invisible because they now fill a range of operational, staff, and training positions which our list does not cover. Class l is being depleted by retirements made compulsory under the present administrative rules. Insofar as there is a contest for power within the military, one axis seems certainly that of the rivalry between Class 2 and Class 4, which may also correspond in part to pro-Murdani and pro-Palace sentiments. Classes l and 2 were the major beneficiaries of Murdani's 1983-1988 tenure of the post of Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. Among the most prominent and influential members of Class 4 is Wismoyo Arismunandar, who is married to a younger sister of Mrs. Suharto. A major point of rivalry is over the succession to the position of Chief of Staff, for the widely respected General Edy Sudradjat (Class l) is due for retirement on reaching age 55 in April 1993. He has been Army Chief of Staff for four years, twice as long as his predecessor Try Soetrisno. Classes 2 and 3 will not relish being passed over, but, given their proximity to retirement age, it would be quite normal in military practice to select as successor someone sufficiently young to be able to hold the position, without unusual extension of active tour of duty, for two to three years. Class 4 (mostly born around 1941) would benefit by such a calculus. Yet as of now Class 3 formally has the strongest nationwide base.

One last quasi-statistical indicator needs to be studied—the timing of transfers and promotions. The data below show some interesting features.

Transfers and Promotions

Year	*Month*	*Korems*	*All Other*	*Total*
1989	July	—	1	1
	Aug.	3	3	6
	Sept..	5	2	7
	Oct.	2	3	5
	Nov.	—	—	—
	Dec.	1	1	2
1990	Jan.	—	—	—
	Feb.	—	—	—
	Mar.	—	2	2
	Apr.	—	1	1
	May	4	4	8
	June	1	2	3
	July	—	—	—
	Aug.	1	10	11
	Sept.	—	1	1
	Oct.	2	—	2
	Nov.	2	—	2
	Dec.	—	—	—
1991	Jan.	5	3	8
	Feb.	5	3	8
	Mar.	5	—	5
	Apr.	1	4	5
	May	3	6	9
	June	—	—	—
	July	—	—	—
	Aug.	—	—	—
	Sept.	—	—	—
	Oct.	—	1	1
	Nov.	—	1	1
	Dec.	—	—	—
1992	Early Jan.	2	2	4

The pace of these changes seems rather routine, with two exceptions. First is the virtual cessation of rotations in the last half of 1991, for which no obvious explanation is available. The second is the big reshuffle in August 1990, in which the President appears to have benefited. Indeed, if one looks closely at those appointments which affect the immediate security of the Palace and its entourage, one gets a preliminary impression that the President has managed things with his characteristic craft. .

In this regard, the important positions are these: (1) Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces; (2) Army Chief of Staff; (3) Kostrad Commander; (4) Kodam Jaya Commander; (5) Commander of Kodam 3/Siliwangi; (6) Chief of the Police; (7) Special Forces Commander; (8) Head of Bakin; and, perhaps, (9) Commander of Kodam 4/Central Java. In these positions we find: (1) Try Soetrisno, at least till the Santa Cruz massacre a presidential favorite, and former presidential adjutant (1976-1978); (2) Edy Sudradjat, a highly respected officer believed to be disliked by the Palace; (3) Wismoyo

Arismunandar, presidential brother-in-law, appointed August 1990; (4) Kentot Harseno, former presidential adjutant, 1978-1980, appointed August 1990[1]; (5) Nuriana, formerly Commander of Korem 061/Bogor, where the secondary presidential palace is located, from 1984-1987, appointed January 1991; (6) Drs. Kunarto, presidential adjutant, 1980-1982, appointed February 1991; (7) Kuntara, Academy classmate of Wismoyo, appointed August 1987; (8) Soedibyo, almost certainly a Murdani man from long-standing intelligence associations, appointed June 1989; (9) Hariyoto Pringgo Sudirjo, another classmate of Wismoyo, with whose career he has been closely associated, appointed August 1990. In this constellation of nine, seven have close personal ties to Suharto or to his brother-in-law Wismoyo.

Yet the evidence is not open to a firm conclusion. It could be argued, for example, that this clustering of ex-adjutants and relatives is a sign of the President's weakening position in the military. In his 26 years in power Suharto has never had to rely so visibly on a small clique, but rather commanded general loyalty among the soldiery. The history of modern militaries in the Third World offers plenty of reason to think that such favoritism usually produces a backlash among military professionals. Furthermore, the recent events in East Timor, no less than the longer history of the Indonesian Army, show that commanding officers are by no means always able to ensure the obedience of their subordinates.

It remains to offer some observations on other aspects of the military politics of the period under consideration. Military dissatisfaction with the President became increasingly open in the course of 1991, as exemplified by the blunt statements of Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro, Head of the Armed Forces' Information Center, that "it is time for him [Suharto] to retire...." and that many in the Army feel that "he has served long enough." [2] This dissatisfaction has been stimulated largely by the financial depredations of Suharto's children and other relatives, but also by the military's own financial difficulties, slow-downs in promotions, threats to the military's political dominance, and presidential favoritism in appointments.

7%

A long feature on the military in *Tempo*, October 12, 1991, a bare month before the Santa Cruz massacre, is quite revealing on three of these concerns. It noted that of the Defense Department's Rp. 2.2 trillion (about $1.1 billion) routine budget, only 37% was set aside for procurement, and only 10% for maintenance. Yet maintenance just for the country's 12 F-16 attack planes cost $66,000,000. The Navy estimated it needed at least 30 frigate-class patrol ships, but had only 17, and "these were bought second hand." Its total operational strength was a mere 80-100 vessels, and "only 16 ships have been bought over the past 16 years." The Air Force could muster only 3 of the 8 attack squadrons which it believed minimal national security required. Furthermore, in straitened circumstances, the total number of generals has been, over the past decade, cut by over half (300+ in 1983 when Murdani assumed the Commander-in-Chiefship, to less than 150 in 1991).

Cutbacks in personnel and funds have in other respects begun to threaten the military's long-dominant position. In the same *Tempo* article, Try Soetrisno complained that the military needed 65,000 NCOs to serve as Babinsas (the "spearhead of our territorial development"), i.e. one for every village in the country. But at present one NCO has to service 5 villages on average. Interior Minister General Rudini noted that during his tenure the percentage of bupatiships in military hands had declined from 51% to 40%.

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[1] Note that Harseno was plucked from the obscure position of Inspector-General for Project Implementation in the Defense Ministry to fill the politically vital post of Kodam Jaya Commander.

[2] *Indonesia Online*, August 1, 1991.

The military leadership, in which Christians are substantially represented, and which has traditionally been suspicious of Muslim "extremism," has also looked askance at Suharto's conspicuous recent attempts to enlist Islamic support as he observes his declining backing in the armed forces. This support may, in the eyes of the Palace, be crucial for pulling off a convincing victory for Golkar in the coming June 1992 elections, since there are already signs that many officers will not give the government electoral machine their longstanding, powerful backing. Rumors are already widespread that some will sit on their hands, or even quietly encourage the hitherto state-enfeebled PDI.

In this situation and atmosphere, the Santa Cruz massacre has played an explosive role. This is not the place to open a full discussion of recent developments in East Timor. It may suffice to confine a tentative analysis to the military aspects.

One must begin with a social-political phenomenon which has long been visible in Indonesia's remoter provinces, but which assumes especially damaging forms in an East Timor where, until the end of 1989, martial law essentially prevailed and local developments were almost completely shielded from scrutiny. This phenomenon involves lower- and middle-ranking, usually middle-aged, military personnel who have served long in these regions and are fully aware that they will go no higher. They do not have the connections to expect a very significant, prosperous, or respected retirement if they return to, say Ngawi or Lamongan. But they have the opportunity to build powerful long-term local bases in the regions, first as representatives of the Center, later as real-estate speculators, fixers, commission-agents, local monopolists, and racketeers. These long-term prospects, meaning retirement in the regions, are helped by local alliances, including marriage connections (themselves or their children), business partnerships with local elites, and personnel manipulations through former subordinates within the active military. As "old hands," such military men are in a strong position to inveigle or obstruct "new broom" officers sent in from the Center. Essentially, we are speaking of the formation of local mafias, which also often have their eye on such "civilian" political positions as bupati, provincial secretary, and even governor.

The data emerging in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre suggest that one dynamic element behind it was just such a local mafia. It is rather clear that one of the missions of the popular Menadonese Commander, Brig. Gen. Rudolf Samuel Warouw, when he took office in December 1989, just as East Timor was being "opened up" for the first time, was to clean up the conduct of the entrenched local military mafia. During his two years in office over 300 military personnel were "disciplined" in various ways and for various abuses[3] -- a policy line which naturally made him unpopular with many of his subordinates and encouraged plotting against him, even though he had the firm backing of the Commander of Kodam 9, Sintong Pandjaitan. Arrayed against him, it appears, were two other forces in loose coalition with the mafia. One consisted of former Apodeti politicians, many of them functioning as bupatis and in the governor's office. This group had provided the first two disastrous Jakarta-appointed governors of East Timor in 1977-1982, Arnaldo dos Reis Araujo, Apodeti president, and Guilherme Gonçalves.

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[3] *Editor*, January 18, 1992.

They had long resented the 10-year governorship of the intelligent, popular ex-UDT leader Mario Carrascalao, had tried to discredit him, and now, with his final term drawing to a close, were eager to take over the governorship.[4] They found it possible to exploit the growing, and increasingly visible (after the *apertura* of December 1989), popular sentiment against integration with Indonesia, to convince Jakarta of Carrascalao's incompetence and the failure of the *apertura* policy. They were pretty certainly behind the appearance in 1991 of hooded gangsters (known locally as the *"buffo"* [clowns]) who by night terrorized the East Timorese population of Dili, and may, if some sources are to be believed, have infiltrated the commemorative procession to the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991, bringing with them inflammatory banners and slogans. [5] Posing as East Timorese nationalists, they seem to have aimed to bring Carrascalao down and to get rid of Warouw (who may have hoped to become the next Governor).

The second force, now being mentioned in the press for the first time, is Lieut. Col. Prabowo (son-in-law of President Suharto, and eldest son of the nimble ex-PSI, ex-PRRI, ex-New Order Minister Dr. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo), who served for some time in East Timor, and maintained good links with the Apodeti politicians and the local mafia -- possibly with the idea of becoming East Timor commander himself at some point.

Exactly what happened in military circles on November 12 still has to be unravelled, but it is quite clear that the shootings were done without Warouw's orders, indeed without his knowledge. It seems certain that one of the units most responsible was Battalion 744, with territorial responsibility for Dili, and composed of East Timorese. It would be plausible to assume, given its key security role, that it has strong Apodeti antecedents and connections.

In any event the disaster was so great, and the international publicity so damaging, that unprecedented action had to be taken. In a highly unusual procedure, on December 28 Suharto intervened publicly -- in his constitutional role as Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces -- to dismiss peremptorily both Panjaitan and Warouw. [6] He also ordered the formation of a Dewan Kehormatan Militer (Military Honor Board) to investigate what had occurred and who was/were ultimately responsible. On December 31, the nine-man core membership of this Board was announced by Try Soetrisno. Military protocol requires that an officer must be "judged" by his superiors, and since Panjaitan was an outstanding member of Academy Class 4 (1963), this meant that the nine generals had to be selected from Classes 1, 2 and 3. In the event, seven of the nine, including the chairman, Maj. Gen. Faisal Tanjung, Commandant of the Army's Staff and Command School, came from Class 2.[7] Tanjung and his Class 2 companions were in an unenviable position. If they did not recommend severe action, they would be seen as engaged in an obvious coverup; if they followed the book, they would make plenty of enemies within the officer corps. Tanjung's own hopes of succeeding Edy Sudradjat were surely also engaged or menaced. In the end, the Board recommended unprecedently stern action. (Sudradjat later conceded publicly that their recommendations had had to be "softened for humanitarian [i.e. political] reasons.")[8]

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[4] See *Editor*, January 4, February 8, and especially 15, 1992, where the key Apodeti politicians are identified as Abilio Jose Osario Soares (bupati of Manufutu), Armindo Soares Mariano (bupati of Dili), and Clementino dos Reis Amaral (member of Parliament). Soares is instructively described as "the strongest candidate [to succeed Carrascalao]. Aside from his excellent performance and clean record, he is a close friend of Lieut. Col. Prabowo, the son-in-law of Pak Harto."

[5] They are likely to be the successors of the notorious *nanggala* of the late 1970s and 1980s -- East Timorese collaborators given special training by the Special Forces for intelligence, interrogation and assassination work. See *Far Eastern Economic Review*, September 29, 1983. Substantial confidence in our analysis is provided by a report in *Editor* of December 7, 1991, which quoted the commander of Sector A/Los Palos, Col. Haryono, as describing the hooded *pasukan* [a word usually restricted to military and paramilitary units] as "a criminal group merely seeking to fish in muddied waters;" and commented that Warouw had given orders that they be shot on the spot if discovered!

[6] As *Editor*, January 4, 1992, blandly commented: "What has really dumbfounded people (*mengagetkan orang*) is why the change of commnd had to be carried out by the the Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces himself, and not by the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces."

The Board declared that what had happened in Dili that day had been outside the knowledge of Panjaitan and Warouw, but as commanders they had to take responsibility for their subordinates' actions. (By this logic, of course, Army Chief of Staff Sudradjat and Commander-in-Chief Try Soetrisno should also have been disciplined -- but by whom?) The Board, however, did not urge that they be court-martialled. This fate was to be reserved for certain of their subordinates. It is rather clear that the Board -- which in its report spoke of military personnel "acting outside the chain of command" -- well understood the real problem, but probably because of the Prabowo connection felt unable to report with full frankness.[9] Nonetheless, Sudradjat proceeded to carry out a complete, massive purge of virtually all influential officers in the East Timor apparatus, at the Korem level and within Dili itself, striking right at the heart of the mafia in a manner that had never been previously undertaken.[10] He also went out of his way to insist that the "open door" post-1989 policy would not be reversed, thus indirectly aligning himself with the Warouw-Panjaitan-Carrascalao axis. Though two apparent hard-liners, Mantiri and Syafei, have been sent in to replace Panjaitan and Warouw, and both have considerable earlier East Timorese experience, there is as yet no reason to think that they are mixed up with the Prabowo-Apodeti-mafia nexus.

It is too soon to assess the longterm outcome -- for the military -- of these extraordinary events. There is certainly a widespread feeling that Panjaitan and Warouw are exemplary officers. Panjaitan is a Murdani protégé of many years standing, and has been widely considered a likely future Army Chief of Staff. Their disgrace is equally certain to be widely resented. The immediate target of this resentment is probably not Sudradjat (who has acted calmly and quietly), but Try Soetrisno, whose bellicose untruthfulness in public statements after the massacre have simply confirmed the general impression of his mediocre qualities.[11] Insofar as Try is regarded as a Suharto man, his potential fall should favor anti-Palace groups. To the extent that Prabowo's role is widely known or suspected within the military, this will also sharpen anti-Palace feeling among the officer corps. In the short run, however, Panjaitan's disgrace may encourage the President to appoint Panjaitan's classmate, Wismoyo, as the new Chief of Staff. It will be instructive to see if this seasoned veteran of almost 50 years of military politics can pull off the maneuver.

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[7] For details on the DKM see *Editor*, January 11, 1992.

[8] *Editor*, March 7, 1992.

[9] For details, see ibid.

[10] The details, for future reference, are as follows: Assistant for Intelligence Col Gatot Purwanto (Javanese); Assistant for Social and Political Affairs Col. Binsar Aruan (Batak Protestant) ; Assistant for Operations Col. Dolfi Rondonuwu (Menadonese Protestant); Assistant for Logistics Col. C.H.B. Sutopo (Javanese); Assistant for Territorial Affairs Col. Michael [sic] Suwito (Javanese); Assistant for Planning Col. Tutut Subari; Commander of Korem 164/East Timor Col. J.P. Sepang; Commander of Kodim 1627 Dili Lieut. Col. Wahyu Hidayat; Commander of Sector C/Dili Col. M. Thamrin.

Purwanto was replaced, according to different sources, either by Lieut. Col. Sujud or by Lieut. Col. Yohan Supit; Rondonuwu by Lieut. Col. Yudomo; Suwito by Lieut. Col. Bambang; Tutut Subari by Lieut. Col. Bosta; Sepang by Col. Dunidja, formerly Commander of the Core Infantry Regiment of Kodam 5; Wahyu Hidayat (AMN Class 13) by Lieut. Col. Syarifudin Zein (AMN Class 11), formerly Commander of the Kodim covering the kabupaten of Manufuhi. It is not yet clear who have replaced Aruan and Sutopo. See *Editor*, March 14, 1992. It is interesting to note that J.P. Sepang, who took up his Dili job in April 1991, had previously been Assistant for Operations, Kodam Jaya (1989-1991), and before that Commander of Brigade 1/Jaya, in which function one of his long-ago predecessors was Col. Latief of the September 30 Movement.

Looking ahead to the somewhat longer future, it is clear that for the moment the military has been wounded publicly, and divided internally. At the same time, the officer corps seems certain to try to reunite and reassert itself. It will be well worthwhile watching its behavior during: (1) the coming elections. Interior Minister Rudini is already reported to have said that "200 seats will suffice for Golkar," a devastating 33% reduction in its strength, if really effected; (2) the coming battle over who will succeed Sudradjat as Army Chief of Staff -- Wismoyo, Faisal Tanjung, or some nervous compromise; and (3) the run-up to the presidential elections of March 1993. Suharto is certain to make his public decision about a running-mate as late as possible, to keep his opponents guessing, and to divide them if possible. He is highly unlikely (willingly) to select anyone who could endanger himself or his entourage. But once the decision is public, there will necessarily be a major realignment of forces. With Suharto reelected for yet another 5-year term, it is hard to believe that the country will be patient enough to wait till 1998 to resolve the succession issue. But after March 1993, there will be no constitutional, consensual way to accomplish this aim.

Additional note: As we write, the news has come that three of the six directors of BAIS have been purged by Arie Sudewo, the intelligence agency's Deputy Chief and operating executive. They are Brig. Gen. Supandji, head of Directorate B (foreign relations), Brig. Gen. Bekar, head of Directorate F (planning), and Brig. Gen. Joko Lelono, head of Directorate F (administration).[12] The original published source for this report, Agence France-Presse, stated that these changes were part of an internal purge resulting from the intelligence agency's failure to anticipate and head off the crisis in East Timor. This connection, however, was immediately and indignantly denied by the Head of the Armed Forces' Information Center, who insisted that the changes were routine, and due to the impending retirement of the officers concerned. This claim is only marginally plausible since Supandji and Bekar are classmates (AMN Class 3) of Arie Sudewo, and presumably very close to him in age. Whether the purge is or is not directly connected to the Santa Cruz massacre, it is likely that Arie Sudewo has taken advantage of the turmoil in the military to remove a set of Murdani and Sutaryo "old hands" and replace them with men of his own. (All three purgees are long-term intelligence types, whereas their purger has had a meteoric recent rise through a range of field, staff, and intelligence positions: 1984-86, Commander of Korem 074/Solo; 1986-87, a Directorate head in BAIS; 1987-88, Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya; 1988-91, Commander of Kodam 3/Siliwangi; 1991- , Deputy Head of BAIS.

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[11] Among his admirers he has recently won the soubriquet "General Bullshit," on account of his famous statements to Parliament early in December 1991, that the Santa Cruz massacre was provoked by the "crazed mob (*amukan massa*)", and "Peaceful demonstration? Bullshit!" See

Editor, December 7, 1991.

[12] *Editor*, March 28, 1992.

Given recent developments, the editors thought it would be useful to list the East Timor connections of as many officers on our list as can be so identified.

Gen. Try Soetrisno	Chief of Staff Kodam XVI	1978–79
Adm. Sumitro	Eastern Zone Fleet Commander	–91
Maj. Gen. Soegito	Commander, Security Operations Command, East Timor	83–85
	Kostrad Commander	88–90
Gen. Edy Sudrajat	Active in Operation Seroja	78
	Deputy Army Chief of Staff	86–88
	Army Chief of Staff	88–
Adm. Arifin	Assistant for Intelligence to Fleet	75–76
	Director "C", BAIS	83–86
	Eastern Zone Fleet Commander	86–89
Lt. Gen. Rajagukguk	Commander, Korem 164/Dili	1979–81
	Assistant for Operations/KSAD	1985–86
	Kostrad Commander	86–88
	Deputy Army Chief of Staff	88–
Maj. Gen. Wismoyo	Special Forces Commander	83–85
	Chief of Staff, Kodam 9	85–87
	Kostrad Commander	90–
Brig. Gen. Mulyadi	Commander, Security Operations Command, East Timor	?87–89
Brig. Gen. I Ketut Wardhana	Commander, Korem 164/Dili andDeputy Commander, Security Operations Command,East Timor	?87–89
Brig. Gen. Kuntara	Deputy Commander, Special Forces	–87
	Commander, Special Forces	87–
Col. Karyono	Active in Operation Seroja	78
Brig. Gen. Nuriana	Active in Operation Seroja	76
Brig. Gen. Yacob Dasto	Active in Operation Seroja	?
Brig. Gen. Yunus Yosfiah[13]	In Battalion 744	78
	Assistant for Operations, Kodam XVI	–85
	Commander of Korem 164/Dili	?85–87
Brig. Gen. Rudolf Warouw	On duty in E. Timor	75–84
	Commander of Korem 164/Dili	87–89
	Commander, Operations Implementation Command, East Timor	89–92
Maj. Gen. S. Pandjaitan	Commander, Special Forces	–87
	Commander, Kodam 9	88–92

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[13] A curious figure. According to an interview with *Tempo*, July 19, 1986, he had been a member of Battalion 744 which managed to kill top Fretilin commander Nicolao Lobato on Mt. Maubesi at the end of 1978. Born in Rappang, South Sulawesi, around 1944, he married an East Timorese girl. In 1979 he was sent for training at Fort Leavenworth, and on his return became Deputy Commander of the Special Forces' Group III in Makasar. He described his favorite pastime as playing back a video of his killing of Lobato.

Maj. Gen. Mantiri	Commander, Battalion 700 in E. Timor	?
	Commander, Kostrad lst Infantry Division/E. Timor Operations Command	86–88
	Commander, Kodam 9	92
Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei	On active duty in E. Timor	[sic] 75
	Commander, Battalion 745 in E. Timor	78–80
	Deputy Assistant for Operations, Kodam 9	80–82
	Chief of Staff, Kostrad 18th Airborne Division	82–84
	Deputy Commander, Operations Implementaion Command, E. Timor	85–87
	Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Division	88–89
	Commander, Kostrad First Division	89– ?
	Commander, Operations Implementation Command, E. Timor	92–
Maj. Gen. Kentot Harseno	The first Commander of Korem 164/Dili	76–78

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Maj. G. Lantara[14]	Deputy Commander, Battalion 700	?89–91
Col. Gatot Purwanto[15]	Deputy Commander, Nanggala Class 52	82–83
	Assistant for Intelligence in E. Timor	–92

Sample

Officeholder	Date of Installation (Length of Term)	
(Date and Place of Birth)	Name of Predecessor	
(Class & date of graduation)	Officeholder's previous post	
	Divisional or service background	Ethnic origin

Abbreviations

B = Brawijaya
BB = Bukit Barisan
D = Diponegoro

J = Javanese
S = Sundanese
Sl = Siliwangi

* = Retired as of 11 November 1991.

+ = East Timor service.

The listing covers the period ending January 10, 1991.

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[14] Maj. Andi Gerhana Lantara was born in Pare-Pare, S. Sulawesi, on May 25, 1956. He was graduated from the AMN in 1979 as a member of Class 18. He was then sent directly to East Timor as a second lieutenant. He is said to have distinguished himself there as platoon commander and Headquarters Company Commander. Later stood out as Commander of the Special Fretilin Crushing Company of Battalion 744 (manned mostly by East Timorese). Under him in this company was Suharto's later son-in-law Prabowo. The company played a key role in killing Nicolao Lobato (compare the conflicting information in note 12 above on this matter). After serving for 8 years in East Timor (1978-87) he was reassigned to Bali. Only in October 1990 did he return to East Timor as Deputy Commander of Airborne Battalion 700/Wirabuana. Reportedly stabbed by people in the procession going to the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991 -- while in mufti and monitoring the procession. (*Editor*, November 23, 1991).

[15] On the nanggala units, see the observations above.

ARMED FORCES HEADQUARTERS (Mabes ABRI) (as of December 31, 1991)

I. Commander-in-Chief

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

Gen. Try Sutrisno (b. November 15, 1935, Surabaya) (Aktekad 4 1959)	27.ii.88 (46 months) Gen. Leonardus Benjamin ("Benny") Murdani Army Chief of Staff Engineers	J

II. Staff Echelon

Chief of the General Staff (Kasum)

Vice Adm. Sudibyo Rahardjo	16.i.88 (47 1/2 months) Lt. Gen. Ida Bagus Sudjana Assistant for Operations to the C-in-C Armed Forces Navy	J

Chief of the Social and Political Staff (Kassospol)

Lt. Gen. Harsudiyono Hartas (b. June 4, 1935, Jepara) (AMN 1, 1960)	30.iii.88 (45 months) Lt. Gen. Soegiarto*+ Assistant for Social & Political Affairs to the Chief of the Social & Political Staff Cavalry	J

Inspector-General (Irjen ABRI)

1. Air Vice-Marshal Imam Suwongso	20.iii.89 -31.iii.90 (12 months) Vice-Adm. Gatot Suwardi ? Air Force	J
2. Lt. Gen. I Gde Awet Sara* (b. March 3, 1936, Bali) (Aktekad 4 1959)	31.iii.90-8.v.91 (13 months) Assistant for Operations to the C-in-C Armed Forces Engineers	Balinese
3. Rear Adm. Sumitro (b. Banyuwangi) (Naval Academy 1962)	8.v.91 (8 months) Commander of the Fleet, Eastern Zone Navy	J

Assistant for General Planning (Asrenum)

Air Vice-Marshal Tedy Roesdi Hayuni	?1986 Vice-Adm. F. Parapat A Director in BAIS Air Force	?

Assistant for Security [Intelligence] (Aspam/Asintel)

1. Maj. Gen. I Gde Awet Sara* (Aktekad 4 1959)	11.ix.87 (?) -?.x.88 (13 months) Maj. Gen. Soedibyo First Assistant (Intelligence) to the Army Chief of Staff Engineers	Balinese
2. Maj. Gen. M. I. Sutaryo*	?-x-88-?-viii-90 (c. 22 months) Deputy Head, BAIS Intelligence	J
3. Maj. Gen. Asmono Arismunandar [16] (b. January 1, 1940, Ponorogo, E.Java) (AMN 3, 1962)	?.viii.90 (c.16 months) Assistant for Social & Political Affairs Cavalry	J

Assistant for Operations (Asops)

1. Maj. Gen. I Gde Awet Sara (Aktekad 4 1959)	?18.x.88-31.iii..90 (c.17 months) Rear Adm. Sudibyo Rahardjo Assistant for Security (Aspam) to the C-in-C Armed Forces Engineers	Balinese
2. Maj. Gen. Sugeng Subroto[17] (b. 1938, Surabaya) (AMN 1, 1960)	29.v.90 (19 months) Commander, Kodam V Artillery/B	J

Assistant for Territorial Affairs (Aster)

1. Maj. Gen. Nana Narundana (b. April 14, 1937, Tasikmalaya) (AMN 1, 1960)	?1988-21.vi.90[18] Maj.Gen. Moechtar[19]* Commander, Kodam 7 Cavalry	S
2. Maj. Gen. Soegito+ (b.February 15, 1938, Yogyakarta) AMN 2 1961	15.viii.90 (16 1/2 months) Commander, Kostrad[20] RPKAD	J

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[16] Asmono Arismunandar was Deputy Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 5, Chief of Staff, Kodam 5 (March 86-June 87), and Commander, Kodam 1/Bukit Barisan (June 87 - 30 March 88) before becoming Assospol ABRI.

[17] Sugeng Subroto was Commander, Korem 081 Madiun, Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya (May 83-June 85), and Assistant for Logistics to Army Chief of Staff (85-August 87) before becoming Commander, Kodam 5/Brawijaya.

[18] Maj. Gen. Nana Narundana died on this date.

[19] Moechtar is currently secretary to Vice President Soedharmono.

[20] Soegito was Commander of Airborne Combat Command/Kostrad, Commander, East Timor Operation and Security Command, and Commander, Kodam Jaya (Aug.85-March 15, 1988) before becoming Kostrad Commander.

Assistant for Communications and Electronics (Askomlek)

1. Air Vice-Marshal Soebagyo S.	? xi.1984 (56 months) Air Vice-Marshal Tedjo Suwarno ? Air Force	J
2. Maj. Gen. Prasetyo	? - 16.v.91 (?)[21] ? ?	J
3. Maj. Gen. Santo Budiono	16.v.91 (6 1/2 months) Director, Army Communications ?	?

Assistant for Security and Social Order (Askamtibmas)

1. Police Maj. Gen. Drs. Achmad Djuaeni	c. 20.vii.85–? (?) Police Maj. Gen. Drs. Poerwata Chief of Police, N. Sumatra Police	J?
2. Police. Maj. Gen. Sedia Utomo	? - 15.viii.90[22] Police	?
3. Police Maj. Gen. Drs. Kunarto[23]	15.viii.90-13.ii.91 (6 months) Chief of Police Nusatenggara Police	?
4. Police Maj. Gen. Drs. Amrin Syarofi	13.ii.91 (10 1/2 months) Chief of Police, S. Kalimantan Police	?

Assistant for Personnel (Aspers)

1. First Air Marshal Soedarma	c. 1.i.87 -11.v.91 (52 months) Maj. Gen. Soegiarto (probably) Director, Personnel & Placement, Air Force Air Force	J?
2. Air Vice Marshal Suakadirul	11.v.91 (6 1/2 months) Deputy for Personnel to the Air Force Chief of Staff, Air Force	?

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[21] He was subsequently appointed Director General of Post and Telecommunications, Ministry of Tourism, Post and Telecommunications.

[22] He was subsequently appointed Assistant for Planning to the Head of the Police.

[23] Kunarto had been **adjutant to President Suharto** (1982-86), Deputy Head of Metropolitan Police, Jakarta (1986-87), Chief of Police, North Sumatra (1987-89), and Chief of Police, Nusatenggara (1989-90). As of February 1991, he became Head of the National Police.

Assistant for Logistics (Aslog)

1. Rear Adm. W. Rahadi	?-6.v.91 Rear Admiral Emir Hamzah Mangaweang ? Navy	?
2. Rear Adm. M. Suud[24] (Naval Academy 1962)	6.v.91 (7 months) Commander, Military Traffic Command Navy	Sumbawa

Assistant for Social and Political Affairs (Assospol)

1. Maj. Gen. Asmono Arismunandar	c. iii.88 -?viii.90 (c. 29 months) Maj. Gen.Harsudiyono Hartas Commander, Kodam 1 Cavalry	J
2. Maj. Gen. Suryadi Sudirja[25] (b. 1938, Banten) (AMN 3 1962)	?.viii.90 (c.16 months) Commander , Kodam Jaya Infantry	Bantenese

Assistant for Functional Group Affairs (Asyawan)

1. Maj. Gen. M. P. Panjaitan	? 88 - ? Maj.Gen. Soetahan Mangoensentono ? ?	Toba Batak
2. Maj. Gen. Ignatius Hardoyo	By 5.v.90. ? ? Navy	? J?

Deputy Head, BAIS

1. Maj. Gen. M.I. Sutaryo*	?-19.i.91	
2. Maj. Gen. Arie Sudewo (b. c. 1940. Bangkalan, Madura) (AMN 3 1962)	19.i.91 (11 1/2 months) Commander, Kodam 3 RPKAD	Madurese

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[24] Suud is a graduate of the Naval Academy (1962) and was Chief of Staff to Commander of the Fleet, Eastern Zone before becoming Commander, Military Traffic Command (Kolinlamil) on Aug. 31,1989.

[25] Suryadi Sudirja was Commander, Korem 064 Serang (?-Apr.84), Deputy Commander, Center for Development of Operations Systems (?-March 86), and Chief of Staff, Kodam 4/Diponegoro (March 86-March 15, 88) before becoming Commander, Kodam Jaya (March 15,88 - August 90)

Central Executive Organs (Lakpus)

1. Governor, National Defense Insitute (Lemhannas)

1. Maj. Gen. Soebijakto Prawirosoebroto (b. August 17, 1929, Wates) (Breda)	31.v.83 -11.xii.89 (78 1/2 months) Lt. Gen. Sutopo Yuwono Officer seconded to the C-in-C Armed Forces B	J
2. Maj. Gen. Soekarto (b. c.1937) (AMN 1 1960)	11.xii.89 (24 1/2 months) Commander , Armed Forces Staff & Command School Cavalry	J

2. Commander-General, Armed Forces' Academy (Akabri)

1. Rear Adm. Soegiatmo	15.xi.86 -2.viii.89 (34 1/2 months) Lt. Gen. (Marines) Kahpi Suriadiredja Governor, Naval Academy Marines	J
2. First Air Marshal Soegiantoro[26]	2.viii.89-11.viii.90 (12 months) Inspector General, Air Force Airforce	J
3.Maj. Gen. Soedarto (b.1938) (AMN 1 1960)	11.viii.90 (16 1/2 months) Assistant for Logistics to the Army Chief of Staff Engineers	J

3. Commander-General, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School (Sesko ABRI)

1. Maj. Gen. Soekarto	12.iv.86 -21.x.89 (42 months) Maj. Gen. Drs. Sumargono Kartoprajitno Assistant for Research and Development to the Army Chief of Staff Cavalry	J
2. Maj. Gen. I Putu Sukreta Suranta	21.x.89 (26 months) Assistant for Operations to the Army Chief Chief of Staff ?	Balinese

4. Head, Armed Forces' Mental Upbuilding Center (Pusbintal)

1. Brig . Gen. N. Noerdin[27]	30.viii.87 - 10.ix.90 (36 1/2 months) Rear Adm. Dr. Tarmizi Thaher Head, Army Mental Upbuilding Service Engineers	?

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[26] Now at Air Force headquarters and waiting for retirement.

[27] *Indonesia* 48 (pp.72-73) stated that H.N. Nurdin was replaced by Col. Oetomo on January 1, 1988, but *AB* September 12, 1990 reports that Brig. Gen Oetomo SP replaced N. Noerdin on September 10, 1990.

2. Brig. Gen. Oetomo SP[28]	10.ix.90 (15 1/2 months) Head, Army Mental Upbuilding Service ?	J

5. Head, Research and Development Center (Puslitbang)

Brig. Gen. Lukman R. Boer	1.xii.86 (61 months) Brig.Gen. Drs. Ngandani Deputy Head, Center for Research and Development, Armed Forces' Headquarters Engineers	?

6. Head, Armed Forces' Center of History and Tradition (Pusjarah)

1. Col. Sudarko (AMN 2, 1961)	?.iv.88 -1.vi.91 (c 38 months) Brig.Gen.Gatot Surjadi ? Cavalry	J
2. Brig. Gen. Idroes	1.vi.91 (7 months) Head, Army Mental Upbuilding Service ?	?

7. Head, Armed Forces' Medical Center (Puskes)

1. Brig. Gen. Dr. P. Pasaribu	c. 1.vii.87 -? Maj. Gen. Dr. Kurnia Natadisastra ? ?	Toba Batak
2. Brig. Gen Dr. M. Mushadi	? ? ?	?

8. Head, Armed Forces' Military Police Center (Puspom)

Brig. Gen. Hadi Baroto	15.vi.87 (54 1/2 months) Brig. Gen. R. Sardjono ? Military Police	J

9. Head, Armed Forces' Information Center (Puspen)

Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro M.Sc.	6.iv.88 (45 months) Brig. Gen. Pieter Damanik ? Infantry	J

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[28] This is likely to be the same person as Col. Oetomo S. (Artillery, Javanese) who was Commander, Korem 141 Watambone from June to December 1985.

10. Head, Armed Forces' Survey and Mapping Center (Pussurta)

Rear Adm. Sri Waskito	8.iv.86 (69 months)	
(b. February 21, 1937, Solo)	Brig. Gen. Utaryo Surodirono	
(Naval Academy 1959)	Head, Navy Hydro-Oceanographic Service	
	Navy	J

11. Head, Armed Forces' Legal Upbuilding Body (Babinkum)

Brig. Gen. Iskandar Kamil SH	19.xii.88 (36 1/2 months)	
	Maj.Gen. M. Djaelani SH	
	?	
	?	Chinese

12. Head, Armed Forces' Supply Body (Babek)

1. Brig. Gen. Soemartono	c. iv. 86 -4.xi.91 (c. 67 months)	
	Maj. Gen. Dading Kalbuadi	
	?	
	Cavalry	J
2. Brig. Gen. M. Saroso Sukardiman[29]	4.xi.91 (2 months)	
	?	
	?	?

13. Head, Armed Forces' Functional Group Upbuilding Body (Babinkar)

1. Brig. Gen. Haposan Silalahi	13.v.88 -?	
(b. 1938)	Maj. Gen. Roestandi A. Moestafa	
(Aktekad 6 1961)	Chief of Staff, Kodam 8	
	Engineers	Toba Batak
2. Maj. Gen. Pribadi Poedjajadi	?	
	?	
	?	J

14. Commander, National Air Defense Command (Kohanudnas)

1. Air Vice-Marshal Ateng Suarsono	11.vi.87 -4.viii.89 (25 1/2 months)[30]	
	Air Vice-Marshal Hartono	
	Commander, Air Force Maintenance & Supply Command	
	Air Force	J?
2. Air Vice -Marshal Isbandi Gandosuwignyo[31]	4.viii.89-29.iv.91 (21 months)	
	Commander, Air Force Materiel Protection Command	
(AMN 4 1963)	Air Force	J

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[29] Up to 15.ii.87 he had been Battalion Commander of Korem 074 Solo in Kodam 4

[30] He subsequently became Deputy for Operations to the Air Force Chief of Staff.

[31] Isbandi received military training in Czechoslovakia and Australia. In 1981-85, while a colonel, he was Defense Attaché in Madrid.

3. First Air Marshal Subagiyo	29.iv.91 (7 months) Chief of Staff , Kohanudnas Air Force	J

Service Heads and Army Hierarchy

Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces

General Try Soetrisno	27.ii.88 (46 months) Gen. Leonardus Benjamin ("Benny") Murdani Army Chief of Staff Engineers	J

Army Chief of Staff

Gen. Edy Sudradjat (b. April 22, 1938, Jambi) (AMN 1 1960)	22.ii.88 (46 months) General Try Soetrisno Deputy Army Chief of Staff S1	S

Navy Chief of Staff

Rear Adm. Muhammad Arifin[32] (b. Nov. 28,1937, Surabaya) (Naval Academy 1960)	25.iii.89 (33 months) Admiral Rudolf Kasenda Commander of the Fleet, Eastern Zone Navy	?

Air Force Chief of Staff

1. Air Marshal Oetomo (b. April 15,1935, Malang) (Flying School, Kalijati 1959)	17.iv.86 -10.iii.90 ((47months) Air Marshal Sukardi Chief of the General Staff Air Force	J
2. Air Marshal Siboen Dipoatmodjo (b. April 12,1936, Yogyakarta) (TNI Flying School 1960)	10.iii.90 (22 months) Deputy for Personnel, Air Force Air Force	J

Chief of the National Police

1. Police Gen. Drs. Moch. Sanoesi (b. 1935, Bogor)	3.vii.86 -27.ii.91 (56 months) Police Gen. Anton Sudjarwo Chief of Police, Central Java Police	S
2. Police Lt. Gen. Drs. Kunarto (b. June 8, 1940, Yogyakarta)	27.ii.91 (10 months) Assistant for Security and Social Order to the C-in-C ?	?

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[32] He took Naval Course in the USSR, and was graduated from Naval Staff and Command School, Armed Forces' Staff and Command School, the National Defense Institute, and the Naval Attache Course. He was Commander, the s.s. Martadinata (1974-75), **Assistant for Intelligence of the Fleet** (1975-76), Defense Attache in Singapore (1978-81), **Direktur of Dipartment C at BAIS** (1983-86).

Commander of the Marine Corps

1. Maj. Gen. (Marines) Aminullah Ibrahim (b. 1937, Banyuwangi)	7.i.87 - 6.viii.90 (43 months) Maj. Gen. (Marines) Muntaram Chief of Staff, Marine Corps Marines	J? Madurese?
2. Maj. Gen. Baroto Sardadi	6.viii.90 (17 months) Deputy Commander of Naval Education Navy	J

Deputy Army Chief of Staff

Lt. Gen. Adolf Sahala Rajagukguk (b. December 31, 1938, Medan) (AMN 2 1961)	15.ii.88 (46 1/2 months) Lt. Gen. Edy Sudradjat Commander, Kostrad D	Toba Batak

First Assistant (Intelligence)

1. Maj. Gen. Soeharto	? 11.iv.88 -?.i.91 (c. 33 months) Maj.Gen.I.Gde Awet Sara Deputy Assistant for Intelligence ?	J
2. Brig. Gen. Soerjadi	?.i.91 (c. 12 months) Chief of Staff Kodam 1 ?	J?

Second Assistant (Operations)

1. Brig. Gen. I Putu Sukreta Suranta	17.iii.88 - 30.ix.89 (18 1/2 months) Maj.Gen.Zein Azhar Maulani ? ?	Balinese
2. Maj. Gen. Abdul Nurhaman	30.ix.89 (27 months) Chief of Staff, Kodam 3 Artillery	S

Third Assistant (Personnel)

Maj. Gen. Soetopo (b. Jan. 1, 1939) (AMN 2 1961)	c. ii.86 (c. 71 months) Maj.Gen.Syaukat Banjaransari Deputy Assistant for Personnel to the Army Chief of Staff ?	J

Fourth Assistant (Logistics)

1. Maj. Gen. Soedarto (b. 1938) (AMN 1 1960)	4.viii.87 -10.viii.90 (36 months) Maj. Gen. Sugeng Subroto Chief of Staff, Kodam 13 Engineers	J

2. Maj. Gen. R. Soenardi[33] (b.Dec.31, 1937, Yogyakarta) (AMN2 1961)	10.viii.90 (16 1/2 months) Commander Army Education Development Center	Cavalry	J

Fifth Assistant (Research and Development/Planning and Budgeting)

Maj. Gen. Herman Bernard Leopold Mantiri (b. 1940, Bogor) (AMN 3 1962)	? 8.ix.88 (40 months)[34] Brig. Gen. Tiopan Bernhard Silalahi Commander, First Kostrad Infantry Division and Commander East Timor Security Operations Command	RPKAD	Menadonese

Assistant for Territorial Affairs

1. Maj. Gen. Radiyon Mustafa[35]	27.ii.89 -4.v.91 (26 months) *Maj. Gen. B.P.Makadada Chief of Staff, Kodam 1	?	?
2. Brig.Gen Togi Mangara Hutagaol[36]	4.v.91 (8 months) Commander, Artillery Weapons Center	Artillery	Toba Batak

Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)

1. Maj.Gen.Soegito (b. Feb 15,1938 Yogyakarta) (AMN 2 1961)	28.iii.88 -9.viii.90 (28 months) Lt. Gen. Adolf Sahala Rajagukguk Commander, Kodam Jaya	RPKAD	J
2. Maj. Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar[37] (b. Feb.10, 1940, Bondowoso) (AMN 4 1963)	9.viii.90 (17 months) Commander, Kodam 4	RPKAD	J

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[33] R. Soenardi had been Kostrad Assistant for Logistics (?-Apr.84), Chief of Staff, Kodam 2/Sriwijaya (Apr.84-Aug.87), and Commander, Kodam 2/Sriwijaya (Aug.87-March 89). He was educated in highschool in Palembang, briefly at the Engineering Faculty of Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, the Military Academy, Seskoad 1972-73, Seskogab 1977, and the National Defense Institute 1983. Rose in field combat armor units, then became Kostrad's Assistant for Logistics in 1978-84.

[34] In mid-January 1992 Maj. Gen. Mantiri was appointed to replace Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan as Commander of Kodam 9. (see below, p.)

[35] He was subsequently appointed Director in Chief, PT Tri Usaha Bhakti

[36] Togi M. Hutagaol was Commander, Korem 023 Sibolga (Dec.83-85?) and Korem 022 Pematang Siantar (85?-Aug.87?) before becoming Commander of the Artillery Weapon Center, replacing Djoko Pramono.

[37] President Suharto's brother in law, Wismoyo Arismunandar was head of Personal Security for the President (1966-68), Special Forces Commander (April 83-May 85), Chief of Staff, Kodam 9 (June 85 - Jan.87), Commander, Kodam 8 (Jan.87-Feb.89) before becoming Commander, Kodam 4.

Commander, Kostrad First Infantry Division

1. Brig. Gen. F.X.Sudjasmin[38]	c. 6.ix.89-18.ix.89 (1 1/2 weeks) Chief of Staff, Kostrad First Infantry Division Infantry J
2. Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei (b.June 30, 1943, Ujungpandang) (AMN 6 1965)	18-ix.89-?[39] Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Infantry Division RPKAD Butonese Christian
3. ?	

Commander, Kostrad Second Infantry Division

1. Brig. Gen. Mulyadi[40]	?.vii.88-?.v.90 (c. 22 months?) Commander, Korem 072 Yogyakarta Infantry J
2. Brig. Gen. Muzani Syukur	?.v.90-8.x.91 (c.17 months) Commander, Korem 061 Bogor Infantry S
3. Brig.Gen.I Ketut Wardhana[41]	8.x.91 (3 months) Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Infantry Division Infantry/B Balinese

Governor, General and Army Division, Armed Forces Academy

Maj. Gen. Toni Hartono (b. 1939, Cilacap) (AMN 2 1961)	2.ix.87 (52 months) Deputy Governor, General & Army Division, Armed Forces' Academy Cavalry J

Commander, Army Staff and Command School (Seskoad)

Maj. Gen. Faisal Tanjung (b. January 1, 1938, S. Tapanuli) (AMN 2 1961)	23.iii.88? (45 months) Maj. Gen. Darwanto Commander, Kodam 6 RPKAD Mandailing Batak

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[38] He was then appointed Chief of Staff, Kodam 8.

[39] He subsequently became Chief of Staff, Kodam 2.

[40] He subsequently became, Chief of Staff, Kodam 4.

[41] Prior to becoming Chief of Staff of the Second Infantry Division, he was Commander, Core Infantry Regiment, Kodam 5 (Oct.89-Dec.89) and of Korem 164 Dili (Dec.89-?) before becoming Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Infantry Division.

Commander, Kopassus (Special Forces Command)

Brig. Gen. Kuntara (b. Jan. 1, 1941) (AMN 4 1963)	8.viii.87 (53 months) Brig. Gen. Sintong Pandjaitan Deputy Commander, Kopassus RPKAD	J?

Head, State Intelligence Board (Bakin)

Maj. Gen. Soedibyo[42] (b.Ngawi, Apr.22, 1937) (Aktekad 5 1960)	3.vi.89 (31 months) Gen. Yoga Sugama Deputy Head, Bakin Intelligence	J

Deputy Head, State Intelligence Board (Bakin)

Maj. Gen. Soeharto	?.i.91 (c. 12 months) Assistant for Intelligence to the Army Chief of Staff Intelligence	J

Commander, Presidential Security Squad (Paswalpres)

Brig. Gen. Pranowo	30.i.85 (83 months) Brig. Gen. R. Sardjono Commander, Military Police, Kodam V Military Police	J

REGIONAL MILITARY LEADERS

KODAM (Military Region Command) 1
BUKIT BARISAN (North Sumatra)

KODAM Commander

1. Maj. Gen. Djoko Pramono	12.viii.88 - 9.vi.90 (22 months) Maj. Gen. Asmono Arismunandar Commander, Kodam 9 Artillery	J

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[42] Soedibyo's intelligence career began in 1969 with an assignment to the intelligence department of the Army General Staff (SUAD I). Next he was assigned to G-1/Intelligence in the Defense and Security Department from 1970 to 1978. From 1978 to 1980 he was Assistant for Intelligence to Kodam XIV/Hasanuddin. From 1980 to 1983 he became a seconded officer (Paban). From 1983 to 1986 he held the job of head of Department "G" in BAIS, doubling as Deputy Assistant for Intelligence to the ABRI Chief of Staff. From 1988-89 he became Deputy Head of Bakin.

2. Maj. Gen. H. R. Pramono[43] (b. Nov.2, 1939, Yogyakarta) (AMN 3 1962)	9.vi.90 (19 months) Chief of Staff, Kostrad Cavalry	J

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. Soerjadi	22.iii.89 - ?.i.91(c.22 months) Brig. Gen. Radiyon Mustafa ?	J?
2. Brig. Gen. Sofyan Effendi	?.i.91 (c. 12 months) Commander, Korem 011 Lho Seumawe RPKAD	Acehnese

Korem (Military Resort Commands) under Kodam 1

011 Lilawangsa (HQ Lho Seumawe)

1. Col. Adang Pamekas	c. ?.v.86 - ? (?) Col. Khairuddin Harahap ? Infantry	S
2. Col. H.M. Ali Hanafiah[44]	? - 12.viii.89 (?) ? ?	?
3. Col. Sofyan Effendi	12.viii.89-? i.91 (?) (c. 17 months) with Special Forces Command (Kopassus) RPKAD	Acehnese
4. Col. Syarwan Hamid	?i.91 (c.12 months) ? Infantry	?

012 Teuku Umar (HQ Banda Aceh)

Col. Muhammad Chan	4.iv.89 (33 months) Col. Soehardjono Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 2 Artillery	?

021 (liquidated c. 28.iv.85)

022 Pantai Timur (HQ Pematang Siantar)

1. Col. A. Pranowo	15.viii.87 - ? (?) Col. Togi Mangara Hutagaol ? Infantry	J

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[43] R. Pramono had been Assistant for Intelligence in Kodam 4 (South Sumatra), Commander of Korem 042 Jambi (Apr.83-May 87) and Chief of Staff, Kodam 1 (May 87 - Aug.88) before becoming Kostrad Chief of Staff (Aug.88-June 90)

[44] He was subsequently appointed Bupati of Labuhan Batu, North Sumatra.

2. Col. Pratikto	? - ?.v.90 (?) ? ?	?
3. Col. Maymaran Nasi'in	?.v.90 (c. 19 months) ? ?	?
023 Pantai Barat (HQ Sibolga),		
1. Col. Togi Mangara Hutagaol	c. 10.xii.83–?.85 (?) ? ? Artillery	Toba Batak
2. Col. Sukisno	85? - ?.iii.89 (?) ? ?	?
3. Col. Sukiman[45]	?iii.89-c.24.iii.91 (c. 24 months) ? Infantry	J
4. Col. Daniel Toding	c.24.iii.91 (c. 8 months) Assistant for Social & Political Affairs, Kodam 1 Infantry	Toraja
031 Wirabima (HQ Pekanbaru)		
1. Col. Kilian Sidabutar (AMN 4 1963)	4.vi.88-14.viii.89 (14 1/2 months) Col. Odang Suhyana ? Infantry	?
2. Col. R. Karyono[46] (b. March 25, 1942, Lamongan) (AMN 6 1965)	14.viii.89 (28 1/2 months) Assistant for Operations, Kodam Jaya Infantry	J
032 Wirabraja (HQ Padang)		
1. Col. Abdullah Afifuddin Thaib[47]	?.xi.87 -29.ix.89 (c. 22 months) Col. Iding Suwardi ? Infantry	?

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[45] He was subsequently seconded to Army Headquarters.

[46] He has 8 medals and speaks English, Banjarese, and Javanese. Has been graduated from Seskoad, Sesko ABRI and Raiders tranining course. Served in crushing of G30S/PKI, the Fifth ICCS Peacekeeping force in South Vietnam, **Operation Seroja in East Timor**, and Garuda VIII (Middle East Peacekeeping forces). Has served in South Korea and Thailand. Has been Commander of Battalion 122, 121, and 100 (Airborne), Commander of the Asahan Military District, and recently was Assistant for Operations, Kodam Jaya.

[47] He was subsequently seconded to Army Headquarters.

2. Col. Musa[48] (b. December 25, 1942) (AMN 6, 1965)	29.ix.89-22.iii.91 (19 months) Assistant for Social & Political Affairs, Kodam 1	Infantry	?
3. Col. Suwarni Adiwidjojo	22.iii.91 (8 months) Commander, Core Infantry Regiment, Kodam 4	Infantry	J

KODAM 2
SRIWIJAYA (South Sumatra)

Commander

Maj. Gen. R. Soewardi[49] (b. April 13, 1938, Singaraja)	20.iii.89 (33 months) Maj. Gen. R. Soenardi Chief of Staff, Kodam 2	Infantry	S?

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. P.H.M. Siahaan	21.iii.89- ? (?) Brig. Gen. R. Soewardi Deputy Governor, Military Academy	?	Toba Batak
2. Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei[50] (b. June 30, 1943 Ujungpandang) (AMN 6 1965)	?- c.7.i.92 (?) Commander, Kostrad Second Infantry Division	RPKAD	Butonese Christian

Korem under Kodam 2

041 Garuda Mas (HQ Palembang)

1. Col. Sabar Pakpahan[51]	c. 25.vi.88 -5.xii.89 (17 1/2 months) Col. Sugeng Zaenal ?	Infantry	Toba Batak
2. Col. R. Usup Suriadi	5.xii.89-19.xi.90 (11 1/2 months) Assistant of Operations, Kodam 8 Kodam 8	Infantry	J?

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[48] He subseuqently became Deputy Governor, of Jambi.

[49] R. Soewardi had been Commander, Korem 142 Pare Pare (?-Apr.85) and Korem 072 Yogyakarta (Apr.85-Aug.87) before becoming Chief of Staff, Kodam 2 (Aug.87-Mar.89).

[50] He then became Commander, Operations Command, East Timor, under Kodam 9 Commander Maj. Gen. Mantiri, replacing R. S. Warouw in January 1992 Pangkolakops, East Timor.

[51] **He subsequently became Commander of the Army's Territorial Education Center.**

Held temporarily by Commander of Kodam 2		
3. Col. Kaolan Isgiharto	?. i.91 (c. 12 months) Commander, Korem 171 Manokwari Infantry	J
042 Garuda Putih (HQ Jambi)		
1. Col. Soebagio	22.vi.87 -? (?) Col. R. Pramono Director, Research and Development, Military Academy Artillery	J
2. Col. Paul Toding[52]	? - 6.ii.91 (?) ? Infantry	Toraja
Held temporarily by Commander of Kodam 2		
3. Col. Daulat Daniel Sinulingga	14.iii.91 (9 1/2 months) Commander, Korem 173 Biak ?	?
043 Garuda Hitam (HQ Lampung)		
1. Col. Hendro Priyono[53]	20.x.87 -6.ii.91 (27 1/2 months) Col. H.R. Iskandar Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam Jaya Infantry	J
2. Col. Yusman Yutam	6.ii.91 (11 months) Commander, Korem 083 Malang Infantry	?
044 Garuda Dempo (HQ Serong)[54]		
1. Col. Namoeri Anom	12.xii.88-9.ii.91 (26 months) Col. A.M. Sihombing Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 4 Infantry	?
2. Col. Siswanto	9.ii.91 (11 months) ? Infantry	J

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[52] He subsequently became Deputy Assistant for Logistics to Army Chief of Staff.

[53] He subsequently became Director of Department "D", BAIS.

[54] In February 1991, Military District 0405 Lahat and 0406 Musi Rawas were shifted from Korem 041 to Korem 044 to align military jurisdiction with that of the civil territorial administration.

KODAM 3
SILIWANGI (West Java)

Commander

1. Maj. Gen Arie Sudewo[55] (b. c. 1940, Bangkalan, Madura) (AMN 3 1962)	c. 15.vi.88 -19.i.91 (31 months) Maj. Gen. Raja Inal Siregar Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya RPKAD	Madurese
2. Brig.Gen.R. Nuriana[56] (b. 1938 or 1939 Sumedang) (AMN 3 1962)	19.i.91 (11 1/2 months) Chief of Staff, Kodam 7 Artillery	S

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. Abdul Nurhaman	1.viii.87-30.ix.89 (26 months) Brig.Gen. Arifin Commander, Korem 062 Garut Artillery	S

Held temporarily by Commander of Kodam 3/Siliwangi

2. Brig. Gen. Hariyoto Pringgo Sudirjo (b. c. 1940) (AMN 4, 1963)	?.x.89-?.viii.90 (c.10 months) Chief of Staff, Kodam 8 ?	J
3. Brig. Gen. Syamsir Siregar[57]	?.viii.90 (c. 16 months) Chief of Staff, Kostrad First Infantry Div.? Infantry	Sipirok Batak

Korem under Kodam 3

061 Suriakencana (HQ Bogor)

1. Lt. Col. Maman Herawan	13.vii.88 -26.v.90 (22 1/2 months) Col. Muzani Syukur ? Infantry	S
2. Col. M. Ilyas Yusuf	26.v.90-c.21.ii.91 (9 months) Commander, Korem 064 Serang Infantry	?
3. Col. Suwignyo	c.21.ii.91 (10 months) ? Infantry	J?

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[55] He subsequently became Deputy Head, BAIS.

[56] R. Nuriana had been Commander of strategic Korem 061 Bogor (Feb.84 - Aug.87) before becoming Chief of Staff of Kodam 7.

[57] Syamsir Siregar had been Commander, Korem 142 Pare Pare from July 99 to Sept. 89, when he was promoted to Chief of Staff of Kostrad's First Infantry Division. It is not clear whether he had another job before becoming Siliwangi Chief of Staff.

062 Tarumanegara (HQ Garut)		
1. Col. Suhana Budjana	c. 10.ii.86 -? (?) Col. Abdul Nurhaman Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 3 Infantry	S
2. Col. Odang Suhyana	? (as of October 1989) (?) Commander, Korem 031 Pekanbaru Infantry	S
3. Col. Agus Syam	? (by Dec. 1989) ? Infantry	? ?
063 Sunan Gunung Jati (HQ Cirebon)		
1. Col. Soewendo	29.vii.87 - ? (?) Col. Abdul Saleh ? Artillery	J
2. Col. Djoko Walujo[58]	? - ?.vi.90 (?) ? Cavalry	?
3. Col. Hari Sabarno	?.vi.90 (c. 18 months) Assistant for Social & Political Affairs, Kodam 3 Infantry	?
064 Maulana Yusuf (HQ Serang)		
1. Col. M. Ilyas Yusuf	?-?.v.90 (?) Col. M.E. Sampurna ? Infantry	?
2. Col. H. Saefulah	?.v.90 (c. 19 months) ? ?	?

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[58] Subsequently had training at the National Defense Institute before becoming Head of the Army's Mental Upbuilding Service.

KODAM 4
DIPONEGORO (Central Java)

Commander

1. Maj. Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar	15.ii.89 -6.viii.90 (18 months) Maj. Gen. Setiyana[59] Commander, Kodam 8 RPKAD	J
2. Maj. Gen. Hariyoto Pringgo Sudirjo (b.c. 1940) (AMN 4 1963)	6.viii.90 (17 months) Chief of Staff, Kodam 3 Engineers	J

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. Saryono[60]	14.vii.88 - 3.v.90 (22 months) Brig. Gen. Suryadi Sudirja Commander, Korem 071 Purwokerto ?	J
2. Brig. Gen. Mulyadi[61]	3.v.90-9.ii.91 (9 months) Commander, Kostrad Second Infantry Division Infantry	J
3. Brig. Gen. Muhammad Ma'ruf	9.ii.91 (11 months) Chief of Staff Kodam 9 Infantry	?

Korem under Kodam 4

071 Wijayakusuma (HQ Purwokerto)

1. Col. R.S. Soeranto	c. 14.vii.88 - 15.ix.89 (14 months) Brig. Gen. Saryono Assistant for Personnel, Kostrad Infantry	J
2. Col. R. Widagdo[62] (b. Aug. 7, 1941, Yogyakarta) (AMN 6 1965)	15.ix.89-?.ix.91 (c. 24 months) Commandant of Army Education and Training Center ?	J
3. ?		

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[59] Setiyana was appointed as Army Inspector-General on Feb.18, 1989, replacing Maj. Gen. H. Simandjuntak.

[60] He subsequently became Director-General of Pertamina

[61] Mulyadi had previously also been Commander of the Operations Command for the Security of East Timor (Pangkoopskam), a position abolished since December 1989 when the territory was declared "open." This command had been directly under the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, not Commander of Kodam 9. He subsequently became Deputy Inspector General of the Army.

[62] He subsequently became Mayor of Yogyakarta

072 Pamungkas (HQ Yogyakarta)

1. Col. Mulyadi[47]	c. 25.ix.87-11.vii.88 (9 1/2 months) Col. R. Soewardi ? Infantry	J
2. Col. Sutoyo NK	11.vii.88-c.29.i.91 (30 1/2 months) Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 4 Artillery	J?
3. Col. Abdul Muis Lubis	c.29.i.91 (12 months) Commander, Korem 074 Solo Cavalry	Mandailing Batak

073 Makutarama (HQ Salatiga)

Col. A. Sadili Mochtar	12.ix.88 (39 1/2 months) Brig. Gen. F.X. Sudjasmin ? Infantry	?

074 Warastratama (Solo)

1. Col. Alip Pandoyo[47] (b. Klaten, C. Java)	c.?iii.87-16.vi.88 (c.15 months) Col. Saroso Sukardiman Commander, Korem 142 Pare Pare Infantry	J
2. Col. Abdul Muis Lubis	16.vi.88 - c.31.i.91 (31 1/2 months) ? Infantry	?
3. Col. Iman Soetopo	c. 31.i.91 (11 months) Commander, Korem 141 Watambone Infantry	J

KODAM 5
BRAWIJAYA (East Java)

Commander

1. Maj. Gen. Sugeng Subroto (b. 1938, Surabaya) (AMN 1 1960)	11.viii.87 - 17.v.90 (33 months) Maj. Gen. Saiful Sulun Assistant for Logistics, Kostrad Artillery	J
2. Maj. Gen. R. Hartono[63] (b.June 10, 1941, Pamekasan) (AMN 3 1962)	17.v.90 (19 1/2 months) Chief of Staff, Kodam 5 Artillery	Madurese

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[47] In 1990 he was Chief of Staff, Kodam 4.

[47] Subsequently Deputy Assistant for Operation to the Army Chief of Staff.

[63] After graduating from the Military Academy, he was assigned to Kostrad in Jakarta, then became Commander of the Armored Detachment of Kodam XIV/"Hasanuddin" in Ujungpandang. In 1975 he

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. R. Hartono	?.i.89-21.iv.90 (c. 15 months) Head, Technical Military Dept., AMN Brig. Gen. Soehardjo BS[64]	Cavalry	J
2.Brig. Gen. M. Yacob Dasto (b. Aceh Utara) (AMN 6 1965)	21.iv.90 (20 months) Commander, Korem 081 Madiun	Infantry	Acehnese

Korem under Kodam 5

081 Dhirot Saha Jaya (Madiun)

1. Col. M. Yacob Dasto[65]	11.vii.88 -c.8.ix.89 (14 months) Col. Theo Syafei Assistant for Operations, Kodam 7	Infantry	Acehenese
2. Col. Ahfas Mufti	c.8.ix.89-24.iv.91 (19 1/2 months) Assistant for Personnel, Kodam 5	Infantry	?
3. Col. Sumarna T.	24.iv.91 (8 months) Officer seconded to Army Headquarters	Infantry	J?

082 Citra Panca Yudha Jaya (HQ Mojokerto)

1. Col. Priyanto Wibowo[66]	?-14.viii.89 (?) Col. Harwin Warsito[67] ?	Infantry	J
2. Col. Soeharto	14.viii.89 (28 1/2 months) Assistant for Logistics, Kodam 5	Infantry	J

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studied at the General Staff and Command College in Fort Leavenworth. After serving as Military District Commander and Korem Chief of Staff in Cirebon, he became successively Deputy Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 3/Siliwangi, Commander of Korem 041 Palembang, Head of the Technical Military Department at the Academy, and Chief of Staff of Kodam 5.

[64] Soehardjo BS was Assistant for Operations, Kodam VIII (?-Feb. 84), Commander, Korem 082 Mojokerto (Feb. 84 -Aug. 84), Korem 081 Madiun (Aug.84-Sept.85), Korem 084 Surabaya (Nov. 85-June 87) and Chief of Staff, Kodam 5.(June 87-Jan.89).

[65] Before becoming Chief of Staff of Kodam 5 in April 1990, he studied at the National Defense Institute. He was particularly **active in Operation Seroja in East Timor.**

[66] He subsequently became Bupati of Jember

[67] Harwin Warsito (Artillery, Javanese) was Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam II (?-May 85), Commander of Korem 091 Balikpapan (May 85-Oct.86), and Korem 082 Mojokerto (May 87-?).

083 Baladhika Jaya (HQ Malang)

1. Col. Yusman Yutam	25.vii.88 -4.ii.91 (30 months) Col. Dahlan Effendi ? Infantry	?
2. Col.Namoeri Anom	4.ii.91 (11 months) Commander, Korem 044 Serong Infantry	?

084 Bhaskara Jaya (HQ Surabaya)

1. Col. Haris Sudarno (b. c. 1942) (AMN 6 1965)	23.vi.88 - 2.x.89 (15 months) Col. E.E. Mangindaan[68] Commander, Core Infantry Regiment, Kodam 7 Infantry	J
2. Col. Imam Utomo[69] (b. Jombang) (AMN 6 1965)	2.x.89 (27 months) Seconded to Personnel Staff at ABRI HQ Infantry	J

KODAM 6
TANJUNGPURA (Kalimantan)

Commander

1. Maj. Gen. Zein Azhar Maulani[70] (AMN 2 1961)	17.iii.88 -?.iv.91 (c. 36 1/2 months) Maj. Gen. Faisal Tanjung Assistant for Operations to the Army Chief of Staff ?	Banjarese
2. Maj. Gen. Rusmadi Siddik	?.iv.91 (c. 7 1/2 months) Commander, Kodam 7 ?	Banjarese

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. A. A .Barnadi	1.ii.88 -30.viii.89 (19 months) Brig. Gen. Pardjoko S. Commander, Korem 171 Manokwari Engineers	J

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[68] Col. Mangindaan later became Deputy Assistant for Operations to the Army Chief of Staff

[69] He was Assistant for Personnel, Kodam 5 during 1987-88.

[70] Maulani was Deputy Assistant for Operation before becoming Assistant (Mar.86-17 Mar. 88) under Try Sutrisno.. After leaving Kodam 6 he became Secretary General of the Department of Transmigration.

2. Brig. Gen. Kilian Sidabutar[71] (AMN 4 1963)	30.viii.89-18.vi.90 (91/2 months) Commander, Korem 031 Pekanbaru Infantry	?
3. Brig. Gen. M. Yunus Yosfiah[72] (b. Rappang, S. Sulawesi) (AMN 6 1965)	18.vi.90 (18 1/2 months) Officer seconded to Army HQ RPKAD	Buginese

Korems under Kodam 6

091 Aji Suryanatakusuma (HQ Balikpapan)

1. Col. Budi Sujana (b. June 9, 1944, Tasikmalaya) (AMN 6 1965)	13.xii.88-25.x.90 (22 1/2 months) Col. Harsono[73] ? Infantry	S

Held temporarily by Pangdam 6.

2. Col. R. Adang Rukiatna P	3.i.91 (12 months) Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 4, temporary at Joint Services' Staff & Command School (Seskogab) ?	S

101 Antasari (HQ Banjarmasin)

1. Brig. Gen. Wiyoto[74]	27.ii.89 -?.iv.90 (c. 13 months) Col. Lutfi Banser ? Artillery	J?

Held temporarily by Commander of Kodam 6

2. Col. Makmun Rasyid	7.v.90 (20 months) ? Infantry	?

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[71] He was Commander of the Military Academy's Cadet Regiment before becoming Commander of Korem 031 Pekanbaru (June 88-Aug.89).

[72] Yunus Yosfiah killed Nicolao Lobato, Fretilin chief, at the end of 1978 while with Battalion 744. Shortly after marrying an East Timorese girl he was sent to Fort Leavenworth in 1979. On his return he was made Deputy Commander of Special Forces Group III in Ujungpandang. In mid-1985, while Assistant for Operation to the Special Forces Command, he was sent for training at the Armed Forces Staff and Command School. After six months, he was sent to serve in Korem 164 Dili. More recently, he had been Assistant for Operation, Kodam 9 and Commander of Korem 164 Dili (Dec.85-Nov. 87)

[73] This is not R. Harsono, Commander, Kodam 5 as of Jan.92.

[74] He subseuqently became Deputy Assistant for Personnel to the Army Chief of Staff.

102 Panju Panjung (HQ Palangka Raya)

1. Col. Suwardi	29.x.86 -? (?) Col. Harsono[75] Assistant for Territorial Affairs,Kostrad Infantry	J
2. Col. H.J. Andries[76]	? - 11.x.90 (?) ? Infantry	Dayak
3. Col. H.R. Garnadi	11.x.90 (14 1/2 months) On Army Operations Staff Cavalry	?

121 Alambhana Wana Wai (HQ Pontianak)

1. Col. Sukisno	30.iii.89-c.26.x.90 (19 months) Col. Asper Aswin[77] Commander, Korem 023 Sibolga Artillery	J
2. Col. Budi Sujana (b. June 9, 1944, Tasikmalaya) (AMN 6 1965)	c.26.x.90 (14 months) Commander, Korem 091 Balikpapan Infantry	S

KODAM 7
WIRABUANA (Sulawesi)

Commander

1. Maj. Gen. Rusmadi Siddik	12.iv.88 -27.iv.91 (36 1/2 months) Maj. Gen. Nana Narundana Assistant for Territorial Affairs to the Army Chief of Staff ?	Banjarese
2. Maj. Gen. Zaenal Basri Palaguna[78] (b. c. 1940. S. Sulawesi) (AMN3 1962)	27.iv.91 (8 months) Commander, Army Territorial Center Sl	Buginese

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[75] This is the same Col. Harsono who was Commander of Korem 091 Balikpapan until replaced by Col. Budi Sujana.

[76] He subsequently became Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Infantry Division.

[77] Col. Aspar Aswin was installed as Deputy Governor of Bali on September 3, 1989, replacing Brig. Gen. I Dewa Gde Oka.

[78] Z.B. Palaguna was Assistant for Operations, Kodam VI (?-Oct.83), Commander of Korem 132 Palu (Oct.83-Aug.86), Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya (89?-Aug.90) and Commander, Army Territorial Center.

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. R. Nuriana[79] (b. 1938 or 1939, Sumedang) (AMN 3 1962)	5.viii.87 -15.i.91 (41 months) Brig. Gen. M. Ramli Hasan Basri Commander, Korem 061 Bogor Artillery	S
2. Brig. Gen. Alip Pandoyo[80]	15.i.91 (11 1/2 months) Deputy Assistant for Operations to the Army Chief of Staff Infantry	J

Korems under Kodam 7

131 Santiago (HQ Tomohon)

1. Col. T.M.F. Tampubolon[81]	?.?.87-9.xi.90 (?) Col. Chris P. Masengi ? ?	?
2. Col. Teddy Jusuf	9.xi.90 (14 months) ? Infantry	?

132 Tadulako (HQ Palu)

1. Col. Karsono	26.vii.88 -22.ix.89 (14 months) Col. Jasman Ismail Commander, Korem 142 Pare Pare Infantry	J
2. Col. Samikoen	22.ix.89 (27 months) Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 4 Engineers	J

141 Toddopuli (HQ Watambone)

1. Col. Iman Soetopo	8.viii.88 -13.iii.91 (31 months) Col. Tamlicha Ali Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 8 Infantry	J
2. Col. Ali Amran Sidik	13.iii.91 (9 1/2 months) Lecturer at the Joint Services' Staff Command School ?	?

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[79] Brig. Gen. Nuriana subseuqently became Commander of Kodam 3.

[80] Alip Pandoyo was Commander of Korem 142 Pare Pare (April 85-March 87) and Korem 074 Solo (March 87-June 88) before becoming Assistant for Operation to the Army Chief of Staff. (?-Jan.91).

[81] He had been Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 3 in 1985.

142 Taroada Tarogaru (HQ Pare Pare)

1. Col. Syamsir Siregar[82]	26.vii.88 - 6.ix.89 (13 months) Col. Karsono ? Infantry	Sipirok Batak
2. Col. Sulatin	6.ix.89 (28 months) Commandant, Cavalry Training Center Cavalry	?

143 Haluoleo (Kendari)

Col. Sudrayono	? (as of 27.vi.88) (?) Col. A. Eteng Amir ? Infantry	J

KODAM 8

TRIKORA (Irian Jaya& Maluku)

Commander

Maj. Gen. Abinowo (b. Kediri, E. Java)	15.ii.89 (34 1/2 months) Maj. Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar Deputy Assistant for Territorial Affairs to the Army Chief of Staff D	J

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. Haryoto Pringgo Sudirjo (b. c. 1940) (AMN 4 1963)	?.v.88 - 11.x.89 (c. 17 months) Col. Haposan Silalahi ? ?	J
2. Brig. Gen. F.X.Sudjasmin[83]	11.x.89-27.iv.91 (18 1/2 months) Commander, Kostrad's First Infantry Division ?	?
3. Brig. Gen. A. Pranowo	27.iv.91 (8 months) Officer seconded to Operation Staff of Army Chief of Staff Infantry	J

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[82] He subsequently became Chief of Staff of Kostrad's First Infantry Division.

[83] He subsequently went to the National Defense Institute for the Regular Course.

Korem under Kodam 8

171 Praja Vira Tana (HQ Manokwari)

1. Col. Tarub	10.viii.87 -? (?) Col. A.A. Barnadi Commander, First Brigade, Third Airborne Division RPKAD	J
2. Col. Kaolan Isgiharto	? - 14.i.91 (?) ? Infantry	J
3. Col. Suwarna A.F.	14.i.91 (11 1/2 months) Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 6 Infantry	J?

172 Praja Vira Yakthi (HQ Abepura)

1. Col. Rudolf Samuel Warouw (b.c. 1943) (AMN 6, 1965)	15.vii.87 -? (?) Col. Sarmono W. ? Infantry	Menadonese
2. Col. Tarub[84]	?-?.x.89 (?) Commander, Korem 171 RPKAD	J
3. Col. Tuswandi[85]	?.x.89-c.7.i.91 (c.14 months) Commander, Core Infantry Regiment, Kodam 5 Infantry	?
4. Col. Koentoro	c. 7.i.91 (12 months) ? Infantry	J

173 Praja Vira Braja (HQ Biak)

1. Col. Suharno	c. 8.vii.86 –? (?) Col. Akip Renatin Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 8 Artillery	J
2. Col. Daulat Daniel Sinulingga	?-c.12.iii.91 (?) ? Infantry	?
3.?		

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[84] He subsequently became Deputy Commander of the Special Forces Command.

[85] He was Commander of Metropolitan Secutiry's First Brigade till Jan. 14, 1989 when he was replaced by Col. (Inf.) J.P. Sepang. He was eventually replaced replaced as Commander of Kodam 5's Core Infantry Regiment by Col. (Inf.) I Ketut Wirdhana.

174 (HQ Ambon)

1. Col. Rustam Kastor	28.vii.87 -1.v.90 (33 months) Col. Suharsono S. Head, Functional Groups Upbuilding Office Kodam 8 Infantry Minangkabau (?)
2. Col. M. Yusuf Kartanegara[86]	1.v.90-11.iii.91 (10 months) Assistant for Operations Kostrad ? ?
3. Col. Aron Tambunan	11.iii.91 (9 1/2 months) Commander, Core Infantry Regiment Kodam 1 Infantry Toba Batak

KODAM 9
UDAYANA (Nusatenggara)

Commander

1. Maj. Gen. Sintong Panjaitan (b. September 4, 1941, Tarutung) (AMN 4 1963)	12.viii.88 -13.i.92 (41 months) Maj. Gen. Djoko Pramono Commander, Artillery Weapons Center RPKAD Toba Batak
2. Maj. Gen. Herman Bernard Leopold Mantiri[71] (b. 1940, Bogor) (AMN 3 1962)	13.i.92 Assistant for Research and Development to the Army Chief of Staff Sriwijaya Menadonese

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. Herman Musakabe[87]	24.ii.88 -8.vii.89(16 1/2 months) Brig. Gen. Warsito Commander, Korem 163 Denpasar Infantry Ambonese (?)

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[86] He subsequently became Commander of the Military Academy's Cadet Regiment.

[71] Mantiri, son of a clergyman and born in Bogor, started his military career in 1963 as Commander of Company 137 in Kodam II/Bukit Barisan. Subsequently served as Commander, Company A Battalion 726 (1966); operation staff officer, Kodam II (1967); Deputy Commander Infantry Battalion 723 (1970); Commander, Airborne Battalion 700 in South Sulawesi (1971). Between 1973-79 served in Kodam Sriwijaya as Chief of Operation Bureau, Kodam Sriwijaya; Commander of Battalion 301; Deputy Assistant for Training and Development at Sriwijaya's Infantry Center; Commander of Brigade 12. In 1981 he was seconded to Operation Staff at Army General Staff. He then became Commander of Korem 121 Pontianak (Mar. 84 - May 86), studied at the National Defense Institute (May-Dec. 1986); commanded Kostrad's First Infantry Division, and led the East Timor Operations Command (Dec. 86 - Aug. 88), before becoming Assistant for Research and Development to Army Chief of Staff.

[87] He subsequently became Deputy Commander of Seskoad and on August 13 1990 was installed as Commander of the Army Education and Development Center.

2. Brig. Gen. Muhammad Ma'ruf AR[88]	8.vii.89-13.v.90 (9 months) Officer seconded to Personnel Staff of Army Chief of Staff ?	?
3. Brig. Gen. Dahlan Effendi	13.v.90 (19 1/2 months) Deputy Assistant for Personnel to the Army Chief of Staff Infantry	Medan Malay

Korem under Kodam 9

161 Wirasakti (HQ Kupang)

1. Col. Budihardjo	c. 6.vi.85 -? (?) Col. Koesmono Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 8 Artillery	J
2. Col. S. H. M. Lerrick	?-18.v.91 (?) ? Cavalry	West Timorese
3. Col. C. M. Poernomo	18.v.91 (7 1/2 months) Assistant for Personnel, Kodam 9 Infantry	?

162 Wirabhakti (HQ Mataram)

1. Col. Samsoedin[89]	11.vii.88 - 22.xi.90 (28 months) Col. Umar Muhammad Said[90] ? Artillery	?
2. Col. Farid Zaenudin	22.xi.90 (13 months) Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam 3 ?	?

163 Wirasatya (HQ Denpasar)

1. Col. M. Anwar[91]	?.?.88-11.v.91 (?) Col. Herman Musakabe ? ?	?

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[88] He subsequently went for training at the National Defense Institute.

[89] He subsequently became Director of Education Department at the Military Academy.

[90] After being assigned to BAIS, Said was made Head of the Security Bureau, Department of Defense and Security on Jan.18.1991

[91] Anwar's predecessor, Herman Musakabe left the post on February 24, 1988, when it was temporarily held by the Commander of Kodam 9, Maj. Gen. Djoko Pramono. After leaving the post Anwar went to Army Headquarters.

2. Col. Ahim Abdulrahim	11.v.91 (7 1/2 months) Assistant for Territorial Affairs, Kodam 9 ?	?

164 Wiradharma (HQ Dili)

1. Col. Muhammad Ma'ruf AR	23.xi.87 - ? Col. M. Yunus Yosfiah ? Infantry	?
2. Col. Rudolf Samuel Warouw[92] (b.c.1943) (AMN 6 1965)	?-?xii.89 (?) Commander, Korem 172 Abepura Infantry	Menadonese
3. Col. I Ketut Wardhana[93]	?.xii.89-13.v.91 (c. 17 months) Commander, Core Infantry Regiment, Kodam 5 Infantry	Balinese
4. Col. J.P. Sepang[94]	13.v.91-7.i.92 (8 months) Assistant for Operations, Kodam Jaya Infantry	Toraja
5. Col. Dulhija[Dunidja?]check 14.3.	7.i.92 Commander, Core Infantry Regiment, Kodam Jaya Infantry	?

Commander for Operations in East Timor (Pangkolakops)

1. Brig. Gen Rudolf Samuel Warouw (b.c.1943) (AMN 6 1965)	?xii.89-8.i.92 (c. 24 months) Deputy Commander for Operations/ Commander, Korem 164 Dili Infantry	Menadonese
2. Brig.Gen. Theo Syafei[95] (b.June 30, 1943) (AMN 6 1965)	8.i.92 Chief of Staff, Kodam 2 RPKAD	Butonese Christian

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[92] He subsequently became Commander of Operations Command in East Timor.

[93] He subsequently became Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Infantry Division

[94] Sepang was Commander of Metropolitan Command's First Brigade/Security from Jan.14,1989 to September 1, 1989. His predecessor was Col.(Inf.) Tuswandi, while he was replaced by Lt. Col. (Inf.) Sangiang M. Siregar.

[95] Before that he held the posts of Chief of Staff of Kostrad's 18th Airborne Brigade in 1982-84, Commander of the Core Infantry Regiment of Kodam Jaya in 1984-85, Deputy Commander for Operations, East Timor (1985-87); Commander of Korem 081 Madiun (87-July 88); Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Infantry Division (July 88 - Sep. 89). He had served earlier in East Timor in 1978 as Commander of the elite Battalion 745, stayed in that area till sent back to become Chief of Staff of Kostrad's 18th Airborne Brigade.

KODAM JAYA
(Greater Jakarta)

Commander

1. Maj. Gen. Suryadi Sudirja	15.iii.88 -10.viii.90 (29 months) Maj. Gen. Soegito Chief of Staff, Kodam 4 Infantry	J
2. Maj. Gen.Kentot Harseno[96] (b. September 18, 1938) (AMN 2 1961)	10.viii.90 (16 1/2 months) Inspector, Implementation Program, Department of Defense RPKAD	J

Chief of Staff

1. Brig. Gen. Amir Singgih	16.viii.88 -? (?) Brig. Gen. Arie Soedewo Deputy Assistant for Personnel to the Armed Forces C-in-C ?	?
2. Brig. Gen. Zaenal Basri Palaguna[97] (b. c. 1940, S. Sulawesi) (AMN 3 1962)	?-11.viii.90 (?) ? ?	?
3. Brig. Gen. Haris Sudarno (b. c. 1942) (AMN 5,1964)	11.viii.90 (16 1/2 months) Chief of Staff, Kostrad Second Infantry Division ?	J

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[96] A 1961 Military Academy graduate, he once served as Chief of Staff of Garrison Infantry in 1985. Graduated from Seskoad (1972), Seskogab (1977), and the National Defense Institute (1984). From 1964 to 1973 served in paratroop units; from 1976 he was the first Korem Commander in Dili. In 1978 he replaced Try Soetrisno as Presidential adjutant. A Catholic.

[97] He subsequently became Commander of the Army Territorail Center.

CLASSMATES AT AMN
(National Military Academy)
1960-1963

Class	*Name*	*Present Position in Our Listing*
AMN 1	Ali Geno	?—
(1960)	Edy Sudradjat	Army Chief of Staff
	Harsudiyono Hartas	Chief of the Social & Political Staff
	Ida Bagus Sudjana	?Secretary General, Dept. of Defense
	Makadada	?—
	Nana Narundana	?
	Pardjoko S	?Governor of W. Kalimantan
	Saiful Sulun	?Deputy Head DPR/MPR
	Soedarto	Commander General, Armed Forces Academy
	Sugeng Subroto	Assistant for Operations to the C-in-C
	Soegiarto	?—
	Soekarto	Governor, National Defense Institute (Lemhannas)
AMN 2	Faisal Tanjung	Commander, Seskoad
	Kentot Harseno	Commander, Kodam Jaya
(1961)	A. S. Rajagukguk	Deputy Army Chief of Staff
	Setiyana	?—
	T. B. Silalahi	?Sec. Gen of Dept. of Mining & Energy
	R. I. Siregar	?Governor of N. Sumatra
	Sudarko	?
	Soegito	Assistant for Territorial Affairs to the C-in-C
	R. Soenardi	4th Assistant (Logistics to the Army Chief of Staff
	Soetopo	3rd Asst.(Personnel) to the Army Chief of Staff
	Toni Hartono	Governor, General & Army Div. Armed Forces Academy
	Zein Azhar Maulani	Secretary General for Transmigration
AMN 3	Akip Renatin	?—
(1962)	Arie Sudewo	Deputy Head, Bais
	Asmono Arismunandar	Asst. for Security to the C-in-C
	R. Hartono	Commander, Kodam 5
	Jasman Ismail	?—
	H.B.L. Mantiri	Commander, Kodam 9
	R. Nuriana	Commander, Kodam 3
	R. Pramono	Commander, Kodam 1
	Soepartono D.	?—
	Suryadi Sudirja	Asst. for Social & Political Affairs to the C-in-C
	Zaenal Basri Palaguna	Commander, Kodam 7

AMN 4 (1963)	Isbandi Gandosuwignyo	(Till 29.iv.91 Commander, National Air Defense Command
	Kilian Sidabutar	(Chief of Staff Kodam 6 89-90)
	Kuntara	Commander, Special Forces Command
	S. Panjaitan	Commander Kodam 9 (till January 92)
	Hariyoto Pringgo Sudirjo	Commander, Kodam 4
	Suharsono S.	?—
	Wismoyo Arismunandar	Commander, Army Strategic Reserve (Kostrad)
AMN 5 (1964)	Haris Sudarno	Chief of Staff, Kodam Jaya
AMN6	Budi Sujana	Commander, Korem 121 Pontianak
	Haris Sudarno	(88-89 Commander, Korem 084)
	Imam Utomo	Commander, Korem 084 Surabaya
	Musa	?
	M. Yacob Dusto	Chief of Staff, Kodam 5
	R. Karyono	Commander Korem 031
	R.W. Warouw	Pangkolakops till Jan.92
	R. Widagdo	(Commander Korem 89-91)
	Theo Syafei	Chief of Staff, Kodam 2
	Yunus Yosfiah	Chief of Staff, Kodam 6